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Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02 ARA-10 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10
/111 W
----------114478 281818Z /43
R 281733Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6811
INFO USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BAMAKO 2666

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR US UN SF WA ML
SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS ON NAMIBIA FOR OAU MEMBERS

REF: STATE 143426

1. SUMMARY: WESTERN CHIEFS OF MISSION RESIDENT IN BAMAKO JOINTLY BRIEFED MALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CHARLES SAMBA CISSOKHO ON MATERIAL CONTAINED USUN 1964 ON JUNE 24, JUST BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR LIBREVILLE OAU SUMMIT. CISSOKHO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR EFFORT UNDERTAKEN "AT LAST", BUT HE REMAINED DEEPLY SKEPTICAL THAT ANYTHING WOULD COME OF NEGOTIATIONS, INSISTING THAT THEY MERELY GAVE SOUTH AFRICA MORE TIME. HE MENTIONED VAGUELY THAT ACTION ON PART OF OAU PARALLEL WITH WESTERN EFFORT MIGHT BE OF SOME HELP, ALTHOUGH BASICALLY HE SAW SOUTH AFRICA AS RESPONDING ONLY TO TOTAL BOYCOTT OR MILITARY ACTION. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADORS OF FRANCE, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AND UNITED STATES (ONLY THREE OF WESTERN FIVE RESIDENT IN BAMAKO) WERE GIVEN APPOINTMENT TO BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTER ON PROGRESS OF MANIBIA TALKS ON JUNE 24, JUST BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE THE FOLLOWING DAY FOR LIBREVILLE
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OAU SUMMIT. FOREIGN MINISTRY SECRETARY GENERAL SEYDOU TRAORE ALSO ATTENDED MEETING. BECAUSE OF SENIORITY AND BECAUSE MALI IS A FRANCOPHONE COUNTRY, FRENCH AMBASSADOR ROBERT MAZEYRAC ACTED AS SPOKESMAN. HE MADE EXCELLENT ORAL PRESENTATION OF MATERIAL SET FORTH IN PARAGRAPHS 1 THROUGH 9 OF AGREED TEXT.

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3. FOREIGN MINISTER CISSOKHO RESPONDED THAT MALI APPRECIATED EVIDENCE THAT WESTERN POWERS WERE "AT LAST" SHOWING "A LITTLE MORE" INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. NEVERTHELESS, MALI REMAINED SKEPTICAL THAT ANYTHING WOULD COME OF NEGOTIATIONS. WHY SHOULD THE WORLD HAVE TO GO THROUGH SUCH A COMPLICATED PROCESS? MALI, FOR EXAMPLE, HAD INDICATED TO FRANCE THAT IT WANTED INDEPENDENCE, AND, AFTER A SHORT PERIOD OF DISCUSSIONS, IT HAD ATTAINED ITS INDEPENDENCE. WHAT RIGHT DID SOUTH AFRICA HAVE TO DEFY THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY?

4. MALI, THE FOREIGN MINISTER CONTINUED, SAW NO MERIT IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN NAMIBIA JUST AS IT HAD SEEN NO MERIT IN A GENEVA CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA. IAN SMITH HAD MERELY GAINED TIME TO STRENGTHEN HIS REGIME AND FURTHER REPRESS THE BLACK MAJORITY OPPOSITION. IN THE CASE OF NAMIBIA, SOUTH AFRICA WOULD SIMILARLY GAIN TIME AND THE SITUATION WOULD SIMILARLY DRAG ON.

5. SO FAR AS CONCERNED THE PROPOSED ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID, HE WAS SUPPOSED TO BE IMPARTIAL, BUT HE WOULD BE SOUTH AFRICAN AND WOULD BE WORKING FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD REPORT TO NEW YORK THAT HE HAD RECEIVED COOPERATION IN SUCH AND SUCH AREA BUT NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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ENOUGH IN THIS OR THAT ONE, AND SUCH REPORTS WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY THE UNITED NATIONS YEAR AFTER YEAR.

6. CISSOKHO THEN VOICED EXTREME SKEPTICISM THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE AND ARMED FORCES WOULD PLAY A NEUTRAL ROLE AND COMMENTED THAT THE RELEASE OF NAMIBIAN POLITICLA PRISONERS IN OTHER COUNTRIES MIGHT JUST FACILITATE SOUTH AFRICA'S GOING AFTER THEM.

7. HE BELIEVED IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR ALL STATES TO RECOGNIZE SWAPO AS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND THEN HELP IT TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN ITS MILITARY STRUGGLE. MALI DID NOT WANT VIOLENCE AT EVERY TURN BUT NOTHING ELSE HAD WORKED SO FAR.

8. SOUTH AFRICA WOULD NOT VOLUNTARILY CHANGE ITS OUTLOOK, CISSOKHO SAID. WHAT WAS ESPECIALLY GALLING WAS THE SOUTH AFRICAN ASSUMPTION THAT MAJORITY RULE WOULD MEAN THE BLACKS WOULD MASSACRE THE WHITES. THE STRUGGLE WAS NOT RACIST ON THE BLACKS' PART, HE SAID, OR IF RACISM WAS AT ALL PRESENT IT WAS IN NATURAL REACTION TO THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS' OWN

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PROFOUNDLY HELD RACISM.

9. FOREIGN MINISTER CISSOKHO ASSERTED FORCEFULLY THAT MALI CONSIDERED THE ONLY MEANS TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA, BOTH IN ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE AND IN ITS MAINTENANCE OF THE DESPICABLE PRACTICE OF APARTHEID, WAS A TOTAL WORLD BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY, TECHNICAL -- IN ORDER TO ISOLATE IT COMPLETELY. THEN AND ONLY THEN MIGHT ONE SEE RESULTS. THAT, HE SAID, WAS MALI'S VIEW OF THE MATTER.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BAMAKO 2666

10. WE TOOK TURNS IN POINTING TO VARIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN CONCESSIONS AND AGREEMENTS ON NAMIBIA VIRTUALLY UNIMAGINABLE A FEW MONTHS AGO AND TO THE EVIDENT PROGRESS ON THE ISSUE, ENCOURAGING HOPE THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD IN FACT LEAD TO NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE IN THE RELATIVELY NEAR FUTURE.

11. THE FOREIGN MINISTER ACKNOWLEDGED EVERY POINT BUT WAS STILL UNCONVINCED. HE SAID WITH GOOD HUMOR THAT HE COULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE WESTERN STATES WOULD HAVE TO ASSUME A CERTAIN MEASURE OF HONESTY AND GOOD FAITH ON THE PART OF THEIR SOUTH AFRICAN NEGOTIATING PARTNER, BUT MALI HAD TO ASCRIBE ALL POSSIBLE WICKEDNESS TO ITS "ENEMY".

12. IN CONCLUSION CISSOKHO SAID AGAIN THAT MALI COULD ONLY APPRECIATE THE WESTERN UNDERTAKING BUT UNFORTUNATELY CONTINUED SKEPTICAL OF THE OUTCOME. HE THEN ADDED A

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VAGUE STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT OAU ACTION AT THE
LIBREVILLE SUMMIT TO WORK IN PARALLEL WITH THE WESTERN
FIVE EFFORT MIGHT BE PRODUCTIVE.

13. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S TONE WAS
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TEMPERATE THROUGHOUT, HE CLEARLY HAD REVERTED TO HIS
EARLIER HARDER LINE, AND THE MODERATION SHOWN IN THE
MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR ALONE ON JUNE 17 (BAMAKO 2552)
WAS MAINLY GONE. THE REASON IS NOT CLEAR, BUT CISSOKHO
IS NOT ALWAYS CONSISTENT. THEN TOO, IN THE FACE OF A
FORMAL ORAL JOINT WESTERN DEMARCHE AND WHEN GEARING UP FOR
THE LIBREVILLE SUMMIT, HE MAY HAVE THOUGHT IT NEXESSARY
TO SET FORTH THE BASIC MALIAN LINE WITHOUT GESTURE
OR COMPROMISE.
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